/21 cont./

551 The nickname is so generally used that when a personal name is mentioned, few people recall to whom it refers. However, they give their Spanish name to a white, trying to pronounce it properly. /22/

Linked with this question of names is the problem of the Indians who emigrate to the haciendas of Venezuela, where they receive a name and surname, generally that of the hacienda, the owner, or the manager. There they are registered with these names. Moreover, some of the bond servants and slaves when sold are given the name of the master and when freed keep this name, sometimes a foreign one, which later they pass on to their children if they marry in the Catholic church.

Magic is intimately connected with the name question (1).

1. See Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, for further information. Published in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, No. 1.

689 Following is a brief summary of this matter: The personal name must not be used by outsiders, and the breaking of this rule would occasion a compensation payment. At the death of a Guajiro, others of the same name change theirs, at least in the area of the habitual home of the dead man's relatives, in order to prevent that name being used in their presence, as this also would involve compensation payment. As a result of this prohibition, the same person at different times and places may have a different name by which he may be called, which can cause confusion.

The personal name is given, as mentioned above, by his parents or closest relatives. The same applies to the general Catholic or Guajiro name, according to the following rules: If the marriage is a Catholic one, the children are named by the father, whose surname is taken. The daughters are given the

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

191 195 689

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

/33 cont./

861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This [762] nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

[602] The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. [689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

* * *

/35 cont./

861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen
593 in some homes where the mother is continually beating the children, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to [762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and [762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted, [689] he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

/158 cont./

764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 [492] Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [689] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

/184 cont./

683 The native adds a great deal of his own phantasy to the truth of the facts. For this reason his testimony is sometimes false. He sometimes lies deliberately to obtain the personal advantage of demanding a payment for himself or for someone who has bribed him. If the lie is proved, or if the instigator of the idea is known, the responsibility for the punishable act embraces both, who are jointly punished.

We have already seen a case in which a disinterested and sincere piece of advice led to a man's being saddled with culpability by the one to whom he gave it, since he was regarded as an indirect participant in an aggressive action against the person who took his advice. Ill-intentioned advice is also considered as a transgressive act, which if it is followed by bad results to the person who takes it and if the bad intentions are proved, the counselor is considered guilty because he has caused a break in the regimen for social security. Furthermore, if the crooked intentions of the advice are proved beforehand, the culpability is clearer and demands an economic indemnity.

683 The following are also considered to be aggressive acts:/185/

689 a) Pronouncing the personal name of an individual. This name, according to Guajiro custom, may only be pronounced without giving offense by the closest maternal relatives. To pronounce it or to make it known to other people is to inflict an insult on the individual and involves punishment. This is probably due to the identification of an individual with his personal name. To betray the name is to betray the individual.

b) The worst offense that a Guajiro can receive from an outsider is for the latter, consciously or unconsciously, to pronounce in front of him or in front of his relatives or friends -- who would tell him about it -- the name of a dead maternal relative. The offense is as great as the relative is close. This aggressive act includes not only pronouncing the name of the dead relative when referring to him, but also addressing someone with the same name. From this stems the established custom of changing the names of all the namesakes of a person when he dies.

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683 689 The reason which justifies compensation payment in Guajira mentality is that saying the word which designates a dead relative immediately brings back a vision of that person with the remembrance of his death, and recalls the anguish and pain of that moment. The pain of his absence is renewed, and they are reminded of how much they miss him in the group which may have suffered socially and economically due to the lack of effective backing which the dead man used to provide. All this revival of memories and the consequent affective valuation of the deceased gives great pain to his relatives, for which they must be indemnified.

The offense is graver when the individual for some reason mentions the dead person in a contemptuous way. This may cause the offended relative to kill the offender, as a natural reaction to an aggressive act, even though such an offense is not considered extenuating in this type of homicide.

The act of stepping on a Guajiro's grave is considered an aggressive act against the regimen for social security. If someone sees this happen he informs the relatives, who immediately demand an indemnity of considerable size from the relatives of the offender. This payment has to be made very quickly, since it is an assault on the cult of the dead and can give rise to an armed struggle between clans.

683 Another aggressive act which can give rise to compensation payment is contemptuous allusion to a physical defect which an individual may have or the mention of his nickname, if this refers to a bodily deformity, such as the case of a person who is one-eyed, squint-eyed, /186/ lacks an arm, or has very noticeable scars on his face or on some visible part of his body.

An offense on the same scale as the above is to mention ironically or contemptuously or in a pejorative manner the maternal relatives of someone, especially their ascendants in the female line, or their uncles, criticising their physical defects or their acts.

/187 cont./

683 [522] being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a payment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant; and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

* * *

689 191 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

/187 cont./

689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

689 291 177 b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

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[291]
kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning. The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

/189 cont./

689 177 hidden. The breaking up of the cultural institutions against which the aggression is directed is accelerated, and these forms /of protest/, in spite of the disagreeable consequences to the individual who makes them, are becoming more numerous. Lately it has not been necessary to resort to such extreme attitudes as those mentioned, since the tenacious refusal of a woman who does not want to conform to a cultural pattern has been sufficient; this conduct does not now place her outside the institutions to which she belongs by birth, but permits her -- without sanction -- to adopt the cultural norms of the whites in this respect, or violate her own as in the case of prostitution and adultery.

• • •

684 Another type of aggression directed against the regimen for collective stability is that determined by punishable acts relating to sex.

The abuse of a young Guajiro girl without legal purchase is an act of aggression which gives cause for the paying of an indemnity.

In this aspect of abuse one must consider violation and surreptitious sexual relations.

The first is more grave and demands a large payment from the offender, not only for illegally making use of property to which he had no right, but for the way he did it, socially humuliating for the woman and her consanguineous relatives because force is employed and wounds received, /both/ evaluated as injuries.

In the second case, in which the expressed consent of the woman is taken for granted, payment is demanded only for the sexual use of the woman and for taunting the woman's family group.

The man who pays for abuse in either of these two cases does not acquire future rights over the woman. He has paid

VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 689 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder ... ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

[177 747] At the present time it is common among the natives for every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

[689] The personal name of the individual should never be pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[109 cont.]

551 say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum de-
[687] cided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social
norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several
head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum
[628] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may
be provoked.

551 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which
553 may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grand-
mother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or
that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which
is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the
girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not
necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her
psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her
birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her
father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on
the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several
nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be
generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first
menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony
is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological
functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of
her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname
by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to
her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's
name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted
sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person
acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents
or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name,
which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his
death.

787 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly
825 throughout the night near the house and remains a long time
prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate
of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening,
as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

611 614 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 [572] Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 [146] Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the employer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

55 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achcuka*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manga*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushaiuns drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [624] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *kaguapa*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtiee suru paura," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [868]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689 ●
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight